

Replication Files for “War and Responsibility”

Patrick Hulme
mphulme@stanford.edu

Instructions for replicating figures and analyzing speech data:

- **1) Run *master.R***
 - This will produce Figures 1 & 9 in the main text, and Figures A5a, A5b, A6, A7, A8, and A9 in the appendix. This will also produce the congressional support score dataset (*CSUMF_CSS.csv*) from the underlying speech (*CSUMF_speeches.csv*) and crisis data (*CSUMF_Crises.csv*).
 - Note: the code used to produce Figure 1 “jitters” the data slightly for visualization purposes, so each run will produce slightly different output (i.e., some conflict labels might not be visible due to over-plotting).
- **2) Run *Multivariate_analysis* (Stata do-file)**
 - This will use one output from *master.R* (a CSV called *Covariates.csv*) in order to produce Tables A6 and A7 and Figure A10 in the appendix.
- **3) Run Mathematica files to produce Figures 4, 6, and 7.** Make sure to set the file path in each file and simply click “Evaluation” → “Evaluate Notebook”
 - *Figure 4.nb*
 - *Figure 6.nb*
 - *Figure 7.nb*

This will reproduce all the figures in the main text and the appendix. Additionally, if one desires to create the data files that are used to produce Figures A8 and A9 in the appendix from the raw underlying data, follow these steps:

- **Run *SentimentR* for speeches.R**
 - This conducts the dictionary-based sentiment analysis whose data is used to produce the plots in the upper-right corner of Figures A8 and A9 (“Dictionary Sentiment”).
 - This takes a while to run (approximately a half hour on a MacBook Pro with M3), so the output is already provided for convenience (*dictionary_sent.csv*)
- **Run *R_Data_Prep_Votes_and_Polls.R***
 - This creates the data frames used to make Figures A8 and A9 (*vote_data.csv* and *polls_data.csv*, respectively) from the underlying datasets.

Summary of Materials Included:

- **Code**
 - **R files**
 - *master.R*
 - This is the main replication file, which produces the “congressional support scores” (informal sentiment toward the use of military force, *CSUMF_CSS.csv*), and Figures 1 & 9 in the main text, and Figures A5a, A5b, A6, A7, A8, and A9 in the appendix. It also creates the excel sheet *Multivariate_DF.xlsx*, which is used by the Stata do-file *Multivariate_analysis* to produce the regression tables in the appendix.
 - *R_Data_Prep_Votes_and_Polls.R*
 - This prepares the raw data for Figures A8 and A9 in the appendix. The output files of this code are provided with the replication materials for convenience (*vote_data.csv*, used for Figure A8, and *polls_data.csv*, used for Figure A9).
 - *SentimentR for speeches.R*
 - This runs the dictionary sentiment analysis used for the top-right plot in Figures A8 and A9 in the appendix.
 - This takes a long while to run (roughly thirty minutes), so its output has been provided (*dictionary_sent.csv*).
 - **Stata do-file**
 - *Multivariate_analysis*
 - This utilizes the output of *master.R* (the excel sheet *Multivariate_DF.xlsx*) to produce Tables A6 and A7 and Figure A10 in the appendix.
 - **Mathematica Files**
 - Each file is entitled with the figure(s) it produces:
 - *Figure 4.nb*
 - *Figure 6.nb*
 - *Figure 7.nb*
- **Data files**
 - *CSUMF Codebook v1.pdf*
 - Codebook describing the CSUMF datasets (*CSUMF_Crises*, *CSUMF_speeches*, and *CSUMF_CSS*)
 - *CSUMF_speeches.csv*
 - Dataset of raw speeches with human labels and GPT labels, as described in appendix and codebook
 - Used by *master.R* to create the congressional support scores data, which is used to create many of the figures and create an output dataset (*CSUMF_CSS.csv*).
 - *CSUMF_Crises.csv*
 - Dataset of crises analyzed (as described in appendix and codebook).
 - *MIP-Dataset_2022.xlsx*
 - The Militarized Intervention Project Dataset (Kushi and Toft 2023). This is used to create Figure 1.
 - *AUMF_Status_MIP.csv*
 - A csv file that simply provides the authorization status of U.S. uses of force 1898 to 2019. This is used to create Figure 1.
 - *Vietnam_war_crisis_months.csv*

- This is simply a list of months for the crises that make up the Vietnam War used to make the trend lines shown in Figures A6 and A7. This is based off of the “*CSUMF_Crises.csv*” crisis dataset.
- *Vietnam_PubSup.csv*
 - As described in the appendix near Figure 6, this is a series of Gallup Polls taken during the course of the Vietnam war. Citations to each poll included in data file.
- *vote_data.csv*
 - War votes data combined with congressional support scores and other potential proxies used to create Figure A8.
 - This csv is uploaded for convenience but can be created from the underlying raw datasets by running *R_Data_Prep_Votes_and_Polls.R*.
- *polls_data.csv*
 - Public opinion polling data combined with congressional support scores and other potential proxies used to create Figure A9.
 - This csv is uploaded for convenience but can be created from the underlying raw datasets by running *R_Data_Prep_Votes_and_Polls.R*.
- *Covariates.csv*
 - A csv file that provides the covariates used for the regressions (Tables A6 and A7) in the appendix. Variables described in appendix.
- ***Votes_and_Polls data files:*** this includes the raw datasets utilized to create *vote_data.csv* and *polls_data.csv*, which are the data frames utilized to create Figures A8 and A9 in the appendix.
 - *War_votes.csv*
 - Dataset of war-relevant votes collected as described in appendix.
 - *raw_polls_data.csv*
 - Dataset of crisis-related public opinion polls collected as described in appendix. Citations to each poll included in data file.
 - *dictionary_sent.csv*
 - Dictionary-based sentiment analysis of speeches (the output of *SentimentR for speeches.R*)
 - *senate_presidential_support.csv* and *house_presidential_support.csv*
 - Presidential support score data from voteview.com (Lewis 2022, here: https://voteview.com/articles/presidential_support_scores)
 - *voteview_polarization_data.csv*
 - Data from voteview.com used for DW Nominate dimensions 1 & 2 (Lewis et al. 2022) (here: https://voteview.com/articles/party_polarization)
 - *Partisan_breakdown.csv*
 - A simple list of the partisan composition of each Congress.
 - *FP_Positions_House_1945_2010.xlsx* and *FP_Positions_Senate_1945_2010.xlsx*
 - Foreign policy ideology scores for lawmakers (Jeong 2018).

Software Environment:

- Operating system: macOS Sequoia 15.2
- Computing software:
 - R version 4.3.2
 - R Packages
 - writexl_1.4.2
 - NCA_3.3.1
 - dplyr_1.1.4
 - forcats_1.0.0
 - ggrepel_0.9.3
 - ggplot2_3.4.2
 - stringr_1.5.1
 - readxl_1.4.2
 - readr_2.1.4
 - doBy_4.6.16
 - sentimentr_2.9.0
 - magrittr_2.0.3
 - Stata 14.0
 - Stata Packages:
 - movavg
 - outreg2
 - fitstat
 - fsum
 - cem
 - sg67
 - dm0038
 - fs
 - binscatter
 - asdoc
 - outreg
 - estout
 - firthfit
 - gr0073
 - grstyle
 - palettes
 - combomarginsplot
 - spost13_ado
 - gologit2
 - clarify
 - coefplot
 - gr0002
 - gr0002_3
 - blindschemes
 - schemepack
 - Mathematica v. 13.2.1.0

References

- Jeong, Gyung-Ho. 2018. "Measuring Foreign Policy Positions of Members of the US Congress." *Political Science Research and Methods* 6(1): 181–96. doi:10.1017/psrm.2016.3.
- Kushi, Sidita, and Monica Duffy Toft. 2023. "Introducing the Military Intervention Project: A New Dataset on US Military Interventions, 1776–2019." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 67(4): 752–79. doi:10.1177/00220027221117546.
- Lewis, Jeff. 2022. "Voteview | Presidential Support Scores." *voteview.com*.
https://voteview.com/articles/presidential_support_scores (February 20, 2022).
- Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith T. Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet. 2022. "Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database." <https://voteview.com/>.